

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 3864

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, RH, GN, OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VISIT TO GHANA

1. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR YOUNG, ACCOMPANIED BY UNDER SECRETARY MOOSE AND ASST. SECRETARY MAYNES, ARRIVED ACCRA 0900 HOURS MAY 13. DURING SEVEN HOUR VISIT PARTY MET WITH COMMISSIONER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS COL. R.J.A. FELLI AND STAFF; HEAD OF STATE I.K. ACHEAMPONG; AND ZANU LEADER NDABANINGI SITHOLE (REPORTED SEPTEL). HE ALSO MET BRIEFLY WITH MISSION STAFF, ATTENDED LUNCH GIVEN FOR HIM BY FELLI, AND FINISHED UP WITH PRESS CONFERENCE AT AIRPORT, DEPARTING AT 1600 HOURS FOR MONROVIA. YOUNG WAS WARMLY RECEIVED HERE AND HIS VISIT WAS A CLEAR SUCCESS. END SUMMARY.

2. AMB YOUNG, AMB SMITH, ASST. SECY MAYNES HELD LENGTHY MEETING WITH COMMISSIONER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS FELLI AND OTHER OFFICIALS OF THE GHANIAN FOREIGN OFFICE. FELLI EMPHASIZED THE GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, WHICH HAD GREATLY IMPROVED AFTER "BAD UNDERSTANDING" TWO YEARS AGO SURROUNDING THE CANCELLATION OF KISSINGER VISIT. COMMISSIONER FELLI STATED
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THE GHANA GOVERNMENT HAS GREAT RESPECT FOR THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, IS CERTAIN THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES COULD FIND SOLUTIONS TO ANY PROBLEMS THAT SHOULD ARISE BETWEEN US, HAS HIGH RESPECT FOR AMB. YOUNG AND HIS VIEWS WITH REGARD TO AFRICA. IN ENSUING CONVERSATION YOUNG AND FELLI DISCUSSED DETENTE, SOUTHERN AFRICA, MIDEAST, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND COCOA AGREEMENT.

3. RE COCOA AGREEMENT, YOUNG SUGGESTED THAT U.S. AND GHANA ENJOYED A MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS RELATIONSHIP. THE U.S. REMAINS WORLD'S LARGEST PURCHASER OF COCOA FROM GHANA AT THE HIGH PRICE OF \$2.00 PLUS PER POUND. IF COCOA PROBLEMS ARISE THEY MIGHT BEST BE DEALT WITH ON A BILATERAL BASIS RATHER THAN IN TERMS OF THE COCOA AGREEMENT. YOUNG SAID U.S. IS NOT OPPOSED TO AN AGREEMENT PER SE BUT SEES IT AS PART OF A WHOLE SERIES OF COMMODITY AGREEMENTS WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION IS NOW STUDYING.

4. ON MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, FELLI VOLUNTEERED THAT GHANA ENJOYED GOOD RELATIONS WITH EGYPT, BUT ALSO WAS FRIENDLY WITH ISRAEL. GHANA HAD BROKEN FORMAL RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE BUT CONTINUED TO BE FRIENDLY. GHANA CHOOSES TO BE FRIENDS OF ALL SIDES; IT WAS IMPORTANT TO HAVE PEACE IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD. YOUNG, DESCRIBING HIMSELF AS "GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST," SAID THAT BECAUSE US RELATIONS WITH BOTH ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES WERE GOOD, WE WERE UNIQUELY WELL-PLACED TO WORK EFFECTIVELY TOWARDS SETTLEMENT. THE US APPRECIATES GHANA'S BALANCED AND OBJECTIVE APPROACH TO ISRAEL. YOUNG HOPED THE US CAN COUNT ON GHANA TO PROTECT AFRICA'S INTERESTS BY NOT LETTING ALL UN FORUMS BECOME BATTLEFIELDS OVER MIDDLE EAST ISSUES.

5. REGARDING SOUTHERN AFRICA, YOUNG SAID THE ADMINISTRATION BEGAN ALMOST IMMEDIATELY TO FOCUS ON THIS AREA AFTER TAKING

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OFFICE. AS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THERE IS AGREEMENT BETWEEN COUNTRIES INVOLVED THAT ONLY THE US CAN BRING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT WITHOUT BLOODSHED. AS FOR SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF, IT IS STRONG ENOUGH MILITARILY AND ECONOMICALLY TO SURVIVE ATTACKS BY ITS NEIGHBORS AND INTERNAL DISTURBANCES. WE THEREFORE HOPE TO SHOW THROUGH OUR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCE THAT THESE CAN BE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN ARMED STRUGGLE IN SPEEDING MAJORITY RULE. WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE UK, WHICH WANTED US TO BE CO-CONVENER OF A CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALISTS AND FRONT LINE STATES FEAR THAT THIS WOULD INTRODUCE A SUPER-POWER CONFLICT. SO WHILE WE ARE VERY MUCH INVOLVED, WE WILL KEEP A LOW PROFILE; WE WILL NOT BE OFFICIALLY OR VISIBLY INVOLVED IN A CONFERENCE. BUT A COMMITMENT TO SETTLING THE ZIMBABWE ISSUE RUNS THROUGH THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS.

6. TURNING TO NAMIBIA, COMMISSIONER FELLI ASKED FOR A BRIEFING ON LATEST 5-POWER DEMARCHE ON SOUTH AFRICA WITH REGARD TO ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA. YOUNG SAID THAT SOUTH

AFRICA AND INTERNAL DISSIDENTS HAD WIPED OUT SWAPO
ABILITY TO LAUNCH EFFECTIVE ARMED STRUGGLE. SWAPO'S
CLAIMS TO THE CONTRARY ARE RHETORIC, NOT SUBSTANCE.
WE HAVE WORKED TO GET SOUTH AFRICA'S MAJOR EUROPEAN
TRADING PARTNERS TO MOVE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL TOWARDS
IMPLEMENTATION OF SC 385. MEETING IN CAPE TOWN PRO-
DUCED SURPRISING RESULTS: SOUTH AFRICA SEEMED TO BE
WILLING, IF REASONABLE MECHANISM FOR TRANSFER COULD
BE FOUND, TO SETTLE NAMIBIAN ISSUE PEACEFULLY VIA
NEGOTIATIONS.

7. HOWEVER, SAM NUJOMA DID NOT MEET WITH A U.S.
OFFICIAL IN DAR ES SALAAM AS PLANNED. IT IS HARD FOR
US TO KEEP SWAPO INVOLVED IF IT IS SO ELUSIVE.
EXTERNAL WING OF SWAPO HAS BEEN DIFFICULT TO ENGAGE
IN NEGOTIATIONS AND AN OAU EFFORT MAY BE REQUIRED
IN JUNE TO MAKE SWAPO FACE UP TO ITS ORGANIZATIONAL AND
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OTHER PROBLEMS. SWAPO IS HOLDING OUT FOR A SOVIET
OR CUBAN MILITARY VICTORY TO PUT IT IN POWER, BUT IT
IS AN ILLUSION TO THINK CUBANS WILL TAKE ON SOUTH
AFRICA OVER NAMIBIA. HOWEVER, WITH HELP OF AFRICAN
STATES, WE COULD TAKE ON THIS PROBLEM AT THE DIPLOMATIC
LEVEL, AND WE WOULD WELCOME GHANIAN HELP.

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8. FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIALS EXPRESSED FAVORABLE ATTITUDE ABOUT U.S. INITIATIVES ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, BUT PRESSED YOUNG PARTY ON ISSUE OF UN SANCTIONS IF INITIATIVE ON NAMIBIA FAILS. FELLI OFFERED THAT HE DID NOT CONSIDER THAT UNGA'S RECOGNITION OF SWAPO AS SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF NAMIBIAN PEOPLE WAS IN CONFLICT WITH RESOLUTION 385.

9. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION ABOUT UN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA, U.S. OFFICIAL (PETTERSON) SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICA VIRTUALLY AGREED TO CONTACT GROUP'S INSISTENCE THAT THE UN SHOULD BE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE ENTIRE ELECTORAL PROCESS. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT WE STILL FACE SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN REACHING A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION, AND BRIEFLY DESCRIBED THEM.

10. ASKED BY A GHANAIAN OFFICIAL WHY THE U.S. WAS WILLING TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS IN SOME AREAS (E.G. CUBA) BUT NOT AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, YOUNG GAVE HIS PERSONAL OPINION THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO BRING SOUTH AFRICA OUT OF ITS LAAGER MENTALITY AND EXPLORE

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ITS WILLINGNESS TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON PROPERTY RIGHTS, EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES, EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS ETC. THE U.S. SHOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE TO RELAX SAG PRESSURE ON BLACKS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA. HE REPEATED THAT THE U.S. COMMITMENT ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES WAS FIRM, BUT WE NEEDED TO CONSIDER WHETHER VARIOUS MEASURES PROPOSED, OR SANCTIONS, WOULD REALLY FURTHER THE CAUSE OF PROGRESSIVE CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

1. IN OTHER COMMENTS ON SOUTH AFRICA, YOUNG SAID PAST ADMINISTRATIONS HAD FELT IT NECESSARY TO COOPERATE WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN ORDER TO GET ITS HELP ON RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN ISSUES. HOWEVER, WE FEEL THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS ACTING IN ITS OWN INTERESTS. WE THEREFORE DO NOT HAVE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON ITS INTERNAL POLICIES IN ORDER TO GET ITS HELP ON OTHER SOUTH AFRICAN ISSUES. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE WILL TELL PRIME MINISTER VORSTER IN VIENNA THAT WHILE WE DO NOT WANT TO SEE FOUR MILLION WHITES PUSHED INTO THE SEA, WE WILL NOT SUPPORT THEM IN APARHEID; WE EXPECT THEM TO MOVE TOWARDS MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

12. YOUNG NOTED THAT SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESSMEN SEEMED WILLING TO MOVE. IF SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMY

CAN BE GEARED TO INCLUDE ALL ITS CITIZENS, IT CAN BE A POWERFUL FORCE. HOWEVER, IF BLACKS AND WHITES CLASH, THE SYSTEM WILL BE DESTROYED: REPRESSION DOES NOT CONTRIBUTE TO DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHEN BLACKS BECOME PART OF THE CONSUMER ECONOMY, AS THEY DID IN SOUTHERN U.S., MARKETS EXPAND AND BOTH BLACKS AND WHITES GET RICHER. OUR ROLE IS TO TELL SOUTH AFRICA IT HAS TO WORK WITHIN ITS OWN SYSTEM AND DEVELOP ACCOMMODATIONS ACCEPTABLE TO ITS CITIZENS.

13. COMMISSIONER FELLI EXPRESSED INTEREST IN DEFINITION OF DETENTE. HE SAID DETENTE COULD NOT JUST BE AN EAST/CONFIDENTIAL

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WEST AFFAIR, BUT HAD TO ADDRESS ITSELF TO FEEDING THE WORLD'S HUNGRY. THE U.S. EFFORT TO SEE PEACE IN THE WORLD MUST FOCUS ON DEVELOPMENT PLAN IN WHICH OTHER NATIONS ALSO COULD PARTICIPATE. YOUNG COMMENTED THAT A ZONE OF PEACE IN AFRICA SHOULD BE THE NEXT GOAL. AFTER THE USSR "TAKES A WHIPPING IN ETHIOPIA." SOVIETS WILL FIND IN THAT AREA THAT IT IS EASY TO STIR UP DIFFICULTIES BUT HARD TO STRAIGHTEN THEM OUT. BUT AFRICA IS BIG ENOUGH, HAS ENOUGH WEALTH AND ENOUGH PROBLEMS, SO THAT ALL STATES CAN AND SHOULD WORK TOGETHER THERE TOWARDS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THE U.S. HAS MADE A HARD DECISION IN AFRICA NOT TO TRY TO PICK LEADERS OR OVERTHROW GOVERNMENTS; WE WILL LIVE WITH GOVERNMENTS CHOSEN BY AFRICAN STATES THEMSELVES, WHETHER THEY ARE LEFT, RIGHT OR CENTER.

14. MEETING WITH ACHEAMPONG HAD MORE POMP BUT LESS SUBSTANCE. ACHEAMPONG TOLD YOUNG AND AMBASSADOR SMITH PRIVATELY THAT STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS THEN UNDERWAY AT UNIVERSITY OF GHANA AT LEGON AND ELSEWHERE WERE "PROOF" SOVIETS WERE TRYING TO UNSEAT HIM. ACHEAMPONG REITERATED HIS GROWING CONCERN OVER SOVIET ENCROACHMENT IN CITING BENIN, GUINEA, ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE AND MILITARY AID TO SOME ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALIST GROUPS AS EXAMPLES. HE SAID HE SHARED OUR DISMAY AT THE LACK OF UNITY AMONG THE FOUR ZIMBABWEAN LEADERS AND EXPLAINED BRIEFLY THE RECENT GHANIAN EFFORT (APPARENTLY ABORTIVE) TO BRING THEM TOGETHER. HE EMPHASIZED HIS DISTRUST OF NKOMO, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF THE SOVIET SUPPORT HE RECEIVED. HE SHARED OUR DESIRE FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN ZIMBABWE BUT FEARED THAT NKOMO VICTORY WOULD "OPEN THE DOOR" TO THE RUSSIANS.
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Message Attributes

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